

# The Republican.

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No. 9. Vol. 14.] LONDON, Friday, Sept. 8, 1826. [Price 6d.

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## DEATH OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

THIS was a good and useful man. His age rendered his death a matter not to be regretted, he died in the fulness of time and what is pleasing in the circumstance, he died on the fiftieth anniversary of the declaration of the independence of America and near the hour at which he, as one of the deputies, had fifty years before signed that document. Mr. Jefferson was the sincere and constant friend of Thomas Paine, and a valuable correspondence between them is likely soon to be in print. Would that Paine had lived to this year, to have witnessed the triumph of his political principles throughout America, and of his theological principles throughout a large portion of Europe and America. Had he lived, he would have outlived the calumny of the religious world, and also of the present political world.

The deaths of men in general are of no more importance than the deaths of other animals; when they are vicious, it is well for the remainder to be rid of them; but such a man as Thomas Jefferson is worthy of notice; the particulars of his life are worthy of record, as an example to other men. In political and theological principle, he was a republican and deist, confined in some measure by American prejudices; but, like Franklin, he was constantly writing or saying something that acted powerfully against the reigning superstition.

Mr. Jefferson was among the first American Revolutionists, and one of the first advocates of independence. After the establishment of that independence, he made the instruction of his countrymen his peculiar study. In his controversial discussions, he was particularly mild, and the writer of this has not escaped his reprobation for harshness and severity of writing. The only excuse he has is, that Mr. Jefferson did not establish the right of free discussion in the free and public sale of Anti-Christian books in that part of America; he did not establish the encouragement to such men as himself freely to publish their conclusions.

There is a further singularity in the case, which is, that John

Adams, another survivor of the signers of the declaration of the independence of the United States, should die on the same day. Though a letter exchanging acquaintance existed between Jefferson and Adams, there was a difference between them in their views both of political and theological principles. John Adams was a little of the Aristocrat in politics, and of the Presbyterian order in religion. He would, if he could, have established a hereditary presidency, which would have been scarcely a shade from monarchy. He had been President, and lived to see his son President, a son, who has retained his father's virtues while he has thrown off his foibles; and the father might have learned, that, where virtue is hereditary, the honours done or due to the family are sure to follow.

Of the character of Jefferson and of the esteem felt for him by the Americans, some account may be gathered from the following articles. His memoir will doubtless come from some able pen in America, where the author can collect facts which are not to be collected in Europe. Here we can say for him, that he lived to a good and great accomplishment, in assisting to procure the independence of his country; for without that independence the Americans would have in time become what the Irish and East Indians now are, and republican freedom would not have existed, nor would there have been any promise of its speedy existence. And we can further say for him, that as he lived honourably in the eyes of his countrymen, so he died amidst their respectful congratulations on his well-spent life, and at a moment when they were festive for the return of that day on which fifty years before their character as a nation had been established. He died as he should have died, not amidst their sorrows; but amidst their joy and cheerings.

RICHARD CARLILE.

The following Letter, addressed by Mr. Jefferson to the Mayor of Washington, is the last Letter, on a public subject, written by that immortal sage and patriot:—

“ Monticello, June 24, 1826.

“ Respected Sir—The kind invitation I received from you, on the part of the city of Washington, to be present with them at their Fiftieth Anniversary of American Independence, as one of the surviving signers of an instrument pregnant with our own and the fate of the world, is most flattering to myself, and heightened by the honourable accompaniment proposed for the comfort of such a journey. It adds sensibly to the sufferings of sickness; to be deprived by it of a personal participation in the rejoicing of that day; but acquiescence is a duty under circumstances not placed among those we are permitted to control. I should, indeed, with peculiar delight, have met and exchanged their congratulations, personally, with the small band, the remnant of that host of worthies who joined with us, on that day, in the bold and doubtful election we were to make, for our coun-



try, between submission and the sword; and to have enjoyed with them the consolatory fact that our fellow-citizens, after half a century of experience and prosperity, continue to approve the choice we made. May it be to the world, what I believe it will be, (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of self-government. The form which we have substituted restores the free right to the undoubted exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. All eyes are opened, or opening, to the rights of man. The general spread of the lights of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favoured few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others; for ourselves, let the annual return of this day for ever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them.

"I will ask permission here to express the pleasure with which I should have met my ancient neighbours of the city of Washington and its vicinities, with whom I passed so many years of a pleasing social intercourse, which so much relieved the anxiety of the public cares, and left impressions so deeply engraved in my affections, as never to be forgotten. With my regret that ill health forbids me the gratification of an acceptance, be pleased to receive for yourself, and those for whom you write, the assurance of my highest respect and friendly attachments.

"TH. JEFFERSON."

#### FURTHER PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE DEATHS OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTS,

(From a Correspondent in "*The Examiner*.")

THOSE great and good men, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, are dead! The circumstances attending their deaths are most affecting. Thomas Jefferson was rather more than 83 years of age; John Adams was 91. They with Charles Carrol, who still lives, were the only survivors amongst the signers of the Declaration of Independence. This important document was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson. The rough MS. draught is still preserved. It was signed and proclaimed on the 4th July, 1776. Thomas Jefferson read it in a room in the State House, in this city, which is still called the "Hall of Independence." The fiftieth anniversary, which returned on Tuesday last, was celebrated throughout the Union with uncommon splendour and rejoicings, as a Jubilee. Both Jefferson and Adams had been invited to attend some of the festivities, but declined on account of the infirmities of age. Neither of them had been what is usually termed sick. On the 3rd of July, Thomas Jefferson called his family and friends together at Monticello, in Georgia, and told them he was aware of his approaching end; he gave directions for his funeral, and then exclaimed, "Would to God, the day of my country's birth may be the day of my death!" The next day (the Anniversary) a little after noon, he said to those around him, "About this time fifty years ago did I read the glorious 'Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia;' bring me some book in which it is; let me read it once more." A book was brought him, and he read aloud a few sentences; the book fell from his hand; he fell back, and gently expired. This was at ten minutes before one, the

very moment, as near as can be calculated, on which, fifty years before, he read the important paper.

The news of the death of John Adams arrived this morning, but few particulars have reached us; but those few are so remarkably similar to those respecting Thomas Jefferson, that they would hardly be believed on the relation. I shall therefore only add, that he expired very unexpectedly, after a free and lively conversation on the events which the day was calculated to revive the recollection of, at six o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of July, at his house at Quincy, near Boston.

Well might it be asked, "Who does not envy such deaths, after such lives?"

J. M.

Philadelphia, July 8, 1826.

#### FUNERAL OF JEFFERSON.

NEW YORK, July 19.—(From the *Richmond Enquirer*, July 14.)—"The proceedings of Tuesday last furnished the strongest tribute which could have been offered to the memory of this illustrious Jefferson. The soldiers of the Revolution, the Ministers of Religion, the Officers of the Federal and State Governments, citizens, military and civil, the teachers and their pupils; all descriptions of people united in 'doing honour to the man who had filled up the measure of his country's honour.' The exhibition was the spontaneous offering of a free people to their distinguished benefactor. It was a brilliant illustration of the purity and beauty of our political institutions. There was no compulsion; no adulation; no sacrifice at the shrine of a deceased despot; no humiliating effort to propitiate his 'legitimate successor.' It was the 'unbought offering' of an independent people. The hearts of freemen poured themselves forth in paying the last tribute of respect to the ashes of their benefactor. The unbidden tear was shed in the fulness of gratitude to one of the most distinguished fathers of the Republic. Compare such an affecting and simple scene as this, with all the splendid pageantry, with all the 'mockery of woe' which surrounds the bier of a monarch or a conqueror, and how completely does the latter dwindle into insignificance! Notwithstanding the shortness of the period which had been allotted for the exhibition, all the arrangements were complete. The orator, and the ministers of religion, were prepared for their various exercises; and the awning, which had been commenced on the Capitol Square on Monday morning only, was completed by 10 o'clock on Tuesday. A canvass covering had been spread over the large Lafayette arch to the east of the Capitol, and wings thrown off to the right and left, and in front, sufficient to accommodate an immense multitude. In the rear of the arch a light platform was erected, canopied with crape, for the reception of the Orator and the ministers of religion.

"The day was uncommonly pleasant. At half after 10 o'clock, the procession began to move from the Henrico Court-house, according to the order which had been published by the Committee of Arrangements. A detachment of the Light Infantry Blues with music—then the Members of the Executive Council—Ministers of Religion—the Soldiers of the Revolution—the Officers of Government—Judges and Officers of the Federal and State Judiciaries—Committee of Arrangement—Municipal Authorities of the City—Justices of Henrico County—Debating Societies—Teachers with their Schools—Citizens—Strangers, and Uniform Companies. The lengthened procession, four deep, extended from the Union Hotel to the



United States' Bank. The whole march through the different streets which had been designated was conducted with the utmost possible order. A few minutes before 12 o'clock, the procession entered the eastern gate of the Capitol Square. At this point of time the scene was exquisitely beautiful and impressive. It pleased the eye of taste, whilst it delighted the soul of the patriot. The whole area under the awning was filled by a numerous assemblage of ladies and gentlemen. The military, and many citizens who were unable to obtain seats, were stationed around. All was order, and a solemn silence reigned through an assembly estimated to contain at least 5,000 persons.

"The exercises were commenced with music; Bishop Moore, of the Episcopal Church, then put up a prayer, which contained the following passages:—'We thank thee, heavenly Father, for the civil and religious government which secures to us liberty without licentiousness, and protects us in the enjoyment of the sacred rights of conscience.' \* \* \* 'We thank thee that thou didst spare those venerable patriots to witness the jubilee of our nation, and upon that jubilee didst call them hence. Look in mercy, we beseech thee, gracious God, upon their bereaved families; place beneath them the everlasting arms of thy love; may they find a shelter in every American heart; never leave them nor forsake them for a moment; and at last, oh take them, blessed Jesus, to a better world. We ask these blessings, thou God of love, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

"After another strain of solemn music, Mr. Tyler, the Governor of the Commonwealth, arose and delivered an eloquent address. As soon as the Orator had concluded, the band struck up a fine dinge; after which the Rev. Mr. Kerr, of the Baptist Church, closed the exercises of the day with prayer. The whole scene was of too impressive a character ever to be forgotten. It was worthy of the great and good man whose loss it was intended to commemorate. Minute guns were fired for one hour in the morning, and one hour in the evening; and the State-house and Penitentiary bells were tolled through the whole day."

#### REPUBLICAN SIMPLICITY.

MR. JEFFERSON, one of the ex-presidents of the United States, when in his official situation, was accustomed to ride unattended even by a servant to the capitol, where having dismounted, thrown the bridle over the iron palisade, and transacted business, he remounted his horse and returned home. When on the usual visit which is paid by the President to the different States, having for its object the personal inspection of the roads, rivers, canals, fortifications, and various other details connected with the improvement of the country, he arrived at Baltimore, he alighted at what was then esteemed the best inn, kept by one Patterson, who was, as a phenomenon, an ignorant Scot, but had, nevertheless, laid the foundation of a considerable fortune, by following the profession of a hair-dresser after his transplantation to America. Mr. Jefferson entered the house, and enquired of this man for a bed, who, eying him from head to foot, and seeing nothing but a plain country farmer in his appearance, with a pair of saddle-bags under his arm, haughtily replied, "Oot mon, you conna hai a bed here, there is no room in the hoos, mon." While this dialogue was passing, there was a company of young men in the bar-room, one of whom recognized the President, and immediately intimated it to his companions, who, in order to enjoy themselves, at the expence of the proud Scot, silently watched with keen interest the finale of the interview. Mr. Jeffer-

son was very sorry he could not be accommodated, and the more so, as he understood, that Mr. Patterson had, perhaps, the largest room in Baltimore, for which, during his stay, which would be about a week or ten days, he should have occasion to see a little company. The Scot, after a second contemptuous survey, and raising his empty powdered pate with consummate arrogance over the modest philosopher and accomplished statesman, "I tell you, mon, thar's no room in the hoos for sic a man as yai, mon." The gentleman, who recognized Mr. Jefferson, then went up to the landlord, and whispered in his ear, that it was the President of the United States to whom he was speaking. The Scot, all of a tremor, blushing, bowing, scraping, and stuttering at the same time, at length said, "I did na ken yai, every room in the hoos is at your service, O yes, every room, Mr. President."—"No, no," observed the President, "if such is your treatment of plain, humble citizens of the United States, when out of office, you do not deserve their custom when in office; I shall therefore go somewhere else." On which he departed, leaving the proud Scot an humble and mortified object of banter to the company in the bar-room.

#### DEATH OF LORD GIFFORD.

THE notice of this man, or lord, is a contrast to the notice which I have taken of Thomas Jefferson. The philosophical president of America with his worsted stockings on his legs and saddle bags on his arm, was a greater man than Robert Gifford sitting as Master of the Rolls, or as Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords, in England.

Gifford has some claim on my notice. I knew his family in Devonshire. He was Attorney General at the time of my Mock Trials. He talked about my having opened the flood-gates of vice; and though he might at one moment have thought that he had conquered me, he has lived to see my triumph. While, in the gaol, and noticing his rapid promotion to high offices, I envied him not; but felt a sort of preference of condition and assured that I should ultimately eclipse him. I had no thought of his early death. He has filled high offices; but has passed through life without honour. The public prosecutions in which he was concerned as Solicitor and Attorney General were of the most disreputable stamp, and the ability which he displayed on them was as meagre as they were disreputable. He was evidently a man selected by ministers, at a critical and troublous moment, to do dirty work.

He was appointed Solicitor General preparatory to the trial of Dr. Watson for high treason in 1817 and opposed by the present Attorney and Solicitor General as an expression of contempt that such a man should have been appointed to such an office in preference to them.



He was appointed Attorney General in July 1819 preparatory to my Mock Trials. His conduct, infamous conduct, on the trial of the late Queen, qualified him to be Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Deputy Speaker in the House of Lords, and a Lord, and finally Master of the Rolls, as an intended successor to the partial and political equity of Lord Eldon. He is extinct. Beyond his family, a remembrance of him can hardly survive a year. As one who have suffered most from him in his official capacity, I never felt that he was worthy of my hostility. I looked upon him as a contemptible tool and sought my enemies among those who moved him. His brothers in Exeter were honourable shop-keepers, and their brother has done nothing to dignify his removal from that station in life.

Lord Gifford died at Dover of an inflammation of the bowels after an excruciating torture, and I am not superstitious enough to suppose that his early and painful death was a judgment upon his political and moral errors. The Jews and Christians have judged many in this way; and had Lord Gifford been the moral blasphemer of religion, instead of my opponent, the Christians would have found a judgment in his death. They would have done so in the case of Lord Castlereagh. They would have done so in the case of Parson Richman of Dorchester. The major part, or a large part, of my jurors are either dead or bankrupt, and I am flourishing! I have not opened the flood-gates of vice, as Gifford accused me of doing; but I found them open and am doing much to close them. I have done more to close them in this country than any man who has gone before me.

RICHARD CARLILE.

#### CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE SOCIETY.

A SOMEWHAT curious article has appeared in a Stockholm paper on the subject of this society, which can be best described by an insertion:—

“STOCKHOLM, AUG.—Our journals informed us last month that the remarkable association for examining the truths of Christianity (the Society of Christian Evidence), which has subsisted about two years, is now endeavouring to extend its influence by means of a prospectus, which it sends to all countries. Were they not men generally respected—men esteemed for their enlightened sentiments and merit—mentioned as the managers, we should be inclined to think, from the absurd contents, that this prospectus, which is written with the appearance of great gravity, was intended as a bitter satire on the proceedings of the Jesuits in France. At all events, this prospectus, signed Robert Taylor, Secretary, is a proof of the unlimited freedom of the press in

England, where however Christianity has, in proportion, perhaps a greater number of adherents sincerely devoted to the Christian religion than any other country in Europe; a circumstance, however, which does not hinder a public invitation to an investigation which might seem to threaten the foundations of that religion, were they not so firmly established as to bid defiance to every attack. (Here follows some extracts from the English prospectus). Did we not consider this prospectus as a satirical counterpart to the dark intrigues of the congregation of the Jesuits, we should be inclined to ask, 'Can arrogance, presumption, and folly go farther?'"

Some of our London newspapers have shewn a fit of anger at the appearance of this foreign notice of the Christian Evidence Society, which has compelled them to notice that which they are very reluctant to notice. It is true, as the Stockholm writer observes, that the freedom of the press in England is as it should be, as free as it can be desired; and the good effects of this freedom are beginning to display themselves. I receive frequent letters from America, which unite in assuring me that what has been done in England toward the establishment of free discussion is not without its effect on the other side of the Atlantic. An extract from one of them I print in the present number.

The proceedings of the Reverend Robert Taylor at the Founder's Hall Chapel excite new interest. The chapel is regularly filled to an excess with a congregation of well-dressed persons, and the Sunday discourses of the Reverend Chaplain excite a common, even an uncommon, admiration.

The Tuesday evening's discussions have been lately made boisterous by the angered though dismayed superstitious feelings of the Christians; but peace officers are kept in attendance and order enforced.

The notice of this society in the capital of Sweden is the best proof of its utility; and we may soon expect to hear, that societies demanding Christian evidences will be co-extensive with Christianity. There is but one reproach on this head attaching to the rulers of this country—the detention of Clarke, Perry, and Campion, in the Giltspur-street Compter, is a crying shame.

R. C.

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EXTRACT FROM A LETTER.

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MR. CARLILE,

New-York, July 31, 1826.

THOUGH personally we are strangers to each other, yet by your writings and your character, you seem to me like an old acquaintance; permit me therefore, in imagination, to take you most cordially by the hand, and very sincerely congratulate you on your late liberation from a long and unjust confinement in a dreary prison, and on the decided and important victory you have thereby obtained over bigotry, fanaticism and intolerance. You have effectually conquered your persecutors, and



established in England, liberty of opinion, and the freedom of unrestrained discussion on a firm and permanent basis. Every good man, of an enlightened mind and of liberal views, must rejoice at your success, and feel the importance of the service you have performed for mankind. Your exertions and perseverance against almost all possible opposition, and in the midst of every difficulty and discouragement, have contributed, more than those of any other man living, or perhaps that ever did live, towards dispelling the clouds of ignorance and the mists of superstition, with which the minds of men are enveloped. Your influence is by no means confined to your own country, but its effects have extended even to this side of the Atlantic, and are widely felt. There are many even in the circle of my personal acquaintances who acknowledge themselves greatly indebted to your publications, for enlightened views and liberal opinions, which they would probably never have possessed without them; and for calm, quiet, contented and happy minds, which they never could have enjoyed under the disadvantages of ignorance, and the influence of a gloomy superstition. I am myself one of this number. I do not mean to flatter you, when I say, that you have earned for yourself a wreath of imperishable fame, and secured the only immortality a rational man can desire, a grateful remembrance in the hearts of enlightened posterity. I hope increasing success will continue to encourage your zeal and animate your exertions in the great and good cause in which you have been so long engaged; and may you eventually banish Christianity with its endless train of innumerable evils together with all ignorance and every superstition, all bigotry and intolerance, all fanaticism and persecution, from the world, and substitute in their place an enlightened philosophy, and a universal philanthropy, which shall have for their object the cultivation of our intellectual faculties, the improvement of our rational powers, and the general and particular good of mankind. A few may continue to denounce you for a time, as a reprobate infidel, a diabolical atheist, a very devil, or an arch fiend of hell, but these shall be effectually silenced, and perhaps convinced of error. A self approving consciousness of having acted boldly and honestly, diligently and laboriously, for the improvement and ultimate perfection of our species, will at least be your reward.

S. R. PARKER.

## LETTER FROM A FRIEND

### ON FOSSIL EXUVIE AND PLANETARY MOTION.

SIR,

I DECLINED attending the Course of Lectures on Geology delivered by Mr. Ogg, on account of the extreme heat of the weather, and the inconvenience of inhaling the atmosphere of a crowded theatre at this season of the year. I have, however, carefully considered those lectures as reported, and respectfully beg leave to offer the result of my *cool* reflection upon them. From the "Mechanics' Register" of this day (July 8th), it appears, that the Worthy Lecturer exhibited several specimens of organic remains dug up from a considerable depth beneath the present surface of the earth. His observations on these specimens, however, were such as seemed to have merged the paramount ambi-

tion of instructing in the humbler satisfaction of entertaining his audience. He seemed to have forgotten the adage—

“Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,”

and thus surrendered the opportunity of elucidating the important subject of these fossil exuviae upon the basis of some relevant and satisfactory theory. Upon such an omission, I hope to be excused the liberty of supplying my best speculations on this deeply interesting subject.

Astronomical and geological phenomena have established the fact, that these formations are results of a systematic order and law by which not only this globe but the whole apparatus of the universe is governed; investigations into the science of astronomy have proved that the motion of the earth, in its orbit, and round its axis, produces every year a slight deviation from its relative position in the heavens; this deviation is so small that it amounts to only 23' of a degree annually, but this is sufficient in the immensity of time, to produce the most stupendous results, even to cause an entire revolution of the seasons, by bringing the north and south poles eventually into the position originally occupied by the equator. It is well known and generally acknowledged, that since the adoption of the present scheme of the zodiac, by the Egyptian and Arabian nations, a precession has taken place, equal to the distance of one whole division or sign of the zodiac from another: This difference has arisen from the annual deviations through a term of about 2,100 years, and accounts for the difference which we now observe in the relative position of the stars, from that laid down by the ancients.

Hence it follows, that the period of time, during which this globe would complete its entire revolution, must extend itself to a term of 50,000 years. Immense as this term may appear, we have every reason to feel assured, that several such terms have already elapsed, and such changes taken place in the position of our earth, and that the scenes we now inhabit have been alternately subjected to the action of the torrid and frigid zones. Geological observations abundantly attest the reality of these mighty vicissitudes. Upon examining the lowest strata of coal, we shall find that this residuum bears evident marks of having been at some time a vegetable substance, and that branches of trees may still be traced in its masses, as not having fully undergone the general assimilation.

Other proofs of these great changes of nature might be adduced sufficient to determine the condition of the most sceptical inquirer; but we have to add to this argument—

2. The existence of so many fossil remains of animals in this country, and in Europe, which could only have existed in the



torrid zone, and their appearance here in too great abundance to sanction the idea of their possible importation.

3. Subterranean forests and groves discovered at great depths beneath the present surface.

4. A slight examination of a gravel-pit or bed of pebbles presents, in the regular kidney shape of the stones, an evidence of their action upon each other in conjunction with water, from which alone their appearance of that shape could have arisen. This will be further illustrated by a comparison with the shingles on the sea-shore, which, from the operation of the same cause, are found to have derived a similar formation.

5. The immense accumulations of ice and snow within the Arctic and Antarctic circles, which, *primâ facie*, so ill accord with the prepossession of the soundest philosophy, *that nothing could have been created in vain*, are on this theory satisfactorily accounted for: they hold an important agency in the immense economy of these great changes. As the North Pole approaches the Equator, these stupendous masses pass into a state of solution, and will eventually inundate our islands and continents, overflow the tops of our highest hills, ingulph our forests, and establish the dynasty of the mighty deep over the present regions of society and civilization. The anticipation, however, of such a consummation, though demonstrable as to the certainty of its occurrence, is removed from all apprehensions of terror by the equally demonstrable remoteness of time and slowness of gradation, by which it will be accomplished. The long term of 25,000 or 30,000 years (a much longer period than that ascribed by theologians to the probable duration of the world) has yet to elapse: the regions we now inhabit will have first basked in the warmer rays of the torrid zone and the animals peculiar to those climates will have become indigenous to the soil of the regions which we now occupy. When we and our posterity to the thousandth generation shall be forgotten. Should these remarks serve to commend the subject to the tractation of abler hands; or excite in individuals a generous consideration of the ends and purposes, for which man best occupies his place and lot in the immense scale of Being, as a something better than "*fruges consumere natus*," *born to consume the fruits*, my object will have been answered, and I shall resume my pen with the greater confidence upon the next occasion of supplying an hiatus upon the same subject, and with like submission to the judgment of those who are skilled in planetary motion and its effects.

D.

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

SIR,

September 6, 1826.

I HAVE perused the article signed F. P., which you reprinted from the "Bolton Chronicle" on the 18th ult., but have found nothing therein to induce me to alter my opinions upon the subjects of machinery and population. I agree with the men of Bolton,

1. That the use of machinery reduces the quantity of employment for human beings.

2. That the (assumed) great increase of the population is not the cause of the present distress.

3. That increase of population cannot be the cause of *any* distress. I add—

4. That the present and all other public or national evils, except earthquakes and tempests and a few other natural phenomena, are clearly to be traced, not to government, but to *misgovernment*.

With respect to machinery, I have already given my opinions in two recent numbers of "The Republican;" I shall therefore be brief upon the subject now: in short I shall leave the proofs of the correctness of my views chiefly to "The Courier" newspaper and F. P. himself. The Editor of "The Courier," or some other writer in that paper, perhaps Mr. Canning, says,—“Scientific discoveries have made our soil more productive, and the introduction of machinery has, in many instances, so diminished the necessity for employing human labour, that one man can, at the present day, effect what could not formerly be done by a hundred. Great is the benefit which results to a country from such circumstances; comforts are, by means of them, brought within the reach of many of the poor, which once could only be enjoyed by the affluent. This general good is produced by the successful introduction of machinery, *but*, unfortunately, it is also the cause of a particular evil; the industrious poor, formerly in demand, but now rendered *useless*, cannot immediately provide for themselves; if arrangements be made to introduce them to some other established course of labour, there again distress is created from the superabundant supply of hands; *the scene* of suffering may be changed, but the evil is not *at an end*.” And my friend F. P., argues, “when a piece of goods could be manufactured with one week’s labour, instead of three month’s labour, it is plain that *if wages estimated at the same amount*, a week’s labour would enable the labourer to purchase a piece of cotton goods.” Aye, to be sure—

“*If wishes were horses then beggars would ride.*”



and if black-berries were beef-steaks the poor weavers might all go into the fields and make a hearty meal. "The Courier" makes out a very pretty case in behalf of machinery, but upsets it entirely with an unlucky "*but*"—F. P. proves almost to demonstration, that machinery is the guardian angel of the working people, when a little ugly imp of an "*if*" displays its marplot visage, and puts the whole train of arguments to flight. This "*if*," indeed, comprehends all that I contend for—if we had no corn laws, *if* we had none but necessary taxes, *if* we had a House of Commons really representing the virtue, the modesty, the talent of the nation, *then* might machinery be made to contribute to the comfort of the public at large.

Well then, Gentlemen, Political Economists, making only a fair and reasonable allowance for the virtue and power of this "*if*" and this "*but*," what becomes of your boasted machine made "*surplus*?" What! will it not supply to yon ragged and wo-begone mother, who now casts that soul-harrowing look upon her perishing offspring, a two-penny, power loom pocket handkerchief, to wipe the tear from her emaciated cheek! Will it not furnish to the industrious, but unemployed and agonized father, a cheap, steam-printed, copy of Adam Smith, to correct his "erroneous notions" and convince him that "his misery is owing to his own misconduct!" Alas! alas! in the words of "The Courier," "the industrious poor are become in a great measure *useless*: the scene of suffering may be changed, but the evil is not at an end."

Adam Smith and Mr. McCulloch seem to stand so high in F. P.'s esteem that I am almost afraid to commit to paper the idea that flitted across my imagination when I found their *opinions* cited as *proofs* that machinery did not diminish employment: it is a sort of political blasphemy: but out it must come. Well then; I actually thought, at the moment, that it would have been almost as well for society—I speak *phrenologically*—if a *brick-making* instead of a *book-making* lump had developed itself upon the pericraniums of those renowned dispensers of political wisdom! They have written books, they have delivered lectures, they have constructed theories; they have been read and talked about by all the would-be politicians of the day: but, I ask, what practical good has resulted from their labours? Have not things been regularly progressing from bad to worse? Are not ministers compelled by circumstances to adopt these very measures which any of the "uninformed" working people would have recommended years ago? But, I fear the distressed operatives have not yet suffered the worst: we are told "several plans are in progress for the purpose of bringing information on some of the most important subjects, within the reach of the working people:" and this information is to come from "expensive books." Unhappy creatures! hunger and nakedness are bad enough, but if, in addition

to these, you are doomed to read the bulky volumes of political economists, then is your lot pitiable indeed.

But it is predicted that "at no very distant period, the best informed among them will be instructed in every thing *which relates to their condition in society*;"—this is "an ill phrase" an aristocratical, Courier-like way of speaking; if you really wish to bring important information within the reach of the working people; in the first place enable them to get their living by industry; do not when they ask for bread give them a stone; then, I would say, advise them to study men, as well as books; and instead of confining your instruction to their "condition in society" strive to teach them their duty as members of the body politic, and their civil and religious rights as Englishmen and citizens of the world.

But let not F. P., or any other political economist, deceive himself; there are many of the working people that need instruction, but take them as a body—and as a body they are charged with entertaining erroneous notions, and of being the cause of their own distress—take them as a body, and you will find them, considering their disadvantages and their temptations, at least equal in virtue and talent to any other body or class of the community. I do not at all feel myself guilty of speaking with levity when I give it as my opinion that, in any populous manufacturing district, there would be no great difficulty in finding six hundred and fifty eight individuals, fully equal in *useful* acquirements and *real* information to the same number of honourable and right honourable readers of Malthus, Smith and M'Culloch.

But, to notice F. P.'s argument a little more particularly; admitting that a printed cotton, or calico, which formerly sold for 3s. 6d. a yard, could now be purchased for 1s. which is not the fact, for those three and sixpenny cottons were, to my knowledge, beautiful, fast colour, durable things, whilst the article now sold for 1s. a yard, is a poor flimsy blue or chocolate rag, scarcely worth the expense of making and trimming, nay, admitting that the very best commodity could be bought for 6d. a yard, if the causes which have produced that cheapness, have also deprived the industrious female of the means of saving the sixpence, is she not evidently a loser by these boasted improvements? or, rather by the demoralizing and misery-making system of unnatural taxation which makes those products of ingenuity an evil rather than, what they might be, a blessing to society? And such I affirm to be the case: there were thirty years ago, as I have before asserted, thousands of mothers, in various parts of the kingdom, who, with the assistance of two children, could each earn 7s. a week at the spinning-wheel. These mothers could buy three and sixpenny cottons for holiday gowns, but the mothers of the present day, in similar situations, are wholly without employment, and unable to buy even fourpenny calico for shirts and chemises. If political economists would attend to a few simple



facts, instead of bewildering themselves and their readers with fine-spun theories and systems, they would be much better qualified than they are to give instruction to their less fortunate fellow countrymen.

F. P. is mistaken in supposing that the million of persons whom he assumes to be employed in the cotton manufactory have found that employment in consequence of the introduction of machinery; it must be considered that the cotton trade, as it regards articles of dress and furniture, has in a great measure superseded the woollen manufactures, and, it is probable, that it would have done the same if not a machine more complicated than the hand-wheel and the loom had ever been known. At no very distant period, every female in the kingdom was clothed either in worsted or silk, or mixed stuffs: now, nine-tenths of their dress are composed of cotton: it is the same with the men, and with the draperies of our household furniture. The lightness, the pleasantness, the susceptibility of ornament which the cotton goods possess, are sufficient reasons for this change; possibly, in another century or two, some other substance may be introduced which will supersede the cotton.

But it is useless to argue upon this subject, for if you dislodge those economists from their strong holds of machinery, they immediately take refuge in a redundant population—a chimera, conjured up for political purposes, and talked about so much and so long, that the conjurors, some of them, actually believe in the reality of its existence. I must therefore take a hop, skip, and jump, to the latter end of part 2, of F. P.'s essay, and make a few observations upon population. He there tells us, that "England was once in a state similar to New Holland now:" it may have been so, but, observe, this is a mere conjecture, there is no historical evidence of the fact, and I cannot allow these system weavers to assume premises at their pleasure, and then draw therefrom inferences calculated to support their whimsical speculations. The earliest authentic records, or that are admitted to be such, concerning this country, are the writings of Julius Cæsar: he found it populous, powerful, and in some parts highly civilized; so powerful, indeed, that with his well-disciplined veterans, and "all appliances and means to boot," he was unable to subdue it. But I have no occasion for the evidence of Cæsar: I shall again call in F. P. to give evidence against himself. He says, that in Great Britain there are fifteen millions of people, and that two thousand years ago, probably there was not one person for every ten thousand which it now contains. One in ten thousand will be fifteen hundred in fifteen millions. Very well, there were fifteen hundred persons, or, as F. P. says, probably not so many, in Great Britain two thousand years ago. Julius Cæsar invaded it fifty-five years before the Christian era, that is eighteen hundred and eighty-one years ago: Now, if in a hundred and

nineteen years these fifteen hundred people increased to that great population which held the conqueror of the world at bay could afford in the year A. D. 61, to lose *eighty thousand men* under Boadicea in conquering the Romans, I have only to say that our forefathers were as clever at making men, as we are at making calicoes.

I am unexpectedly interrupted in my scribbling, but being unwilling to lose a week I send you this hastily written fragment, and intend to address you again soon.

J. F.

THE FOLLOWING WELL WRITTEN LETTER IS TAKEN  
FROM WEDNESDAY'S HERALD.

SIR,

I HAVE lately perused several articles in your "Morning Herald," stating that ministers consider that emigration will be a means of relief from the present dreadful state of distress into which the country is plunged, and that, therefore, they are desirous of encouraging it.

If they imagine that it will afford permanent relief, unless followed up by a subversion of the present system of granting relief to the poor, and by a dismemberment of the enormous farms so destructive to the welfare, happiness, morality, and health of the people, they are miserably mistaken. That superabundant population is the cause of the present distress, no one can doubt; and that emigration of that superabundant population would be a *temporary* relief, no one can doubt; but, in due course of time—about eighteen or twenty years' time,—we should again be entering on an excess of population, unless, as I stated above, the present system of granting relief to the poor, and the enormous farms are put down, for there is the root of the evil to be found. I lived for many years in the country, in one of the most favourable districts for agricultural pursuits, and I have seen this assertion of mine verified to the fullest extent. The present system of relieving the poor is according to the number in family, and the wages that are paid for labour are a nothing, and the rest is paid to the applicant from the poor-rate. Now, an active single man, who has no claim on the poor-rate, is, from the insufficiency of the sum paid to him for labour to sustain him, induced to take a wife, and who producing to him annually a child, gives an annual increase of claim on the poor-rate, and thus he gets his subsistence, and population is by this forced measure improperly increased. Heretofore it was very rare to find labouring people dignified with the title of grandfather or grandmother from their offspring living; but now you may find even great grandfathers and great grandmothers existing in multitudes of parishes. You find then that there is another generation of paupers introduced entirely by this system of paying out of the poor-rate according to family, and not allowing a young man fair remuneration for his labour. Now, if the young man was allowed a fair price for his labour, he would, as heretofore, feel inclined to wait till he was of a fit age to marry, and had saved a sufficient sum to enable him to settle on a little land himself as a renter. But observe, I mean the throwing open the large farms, and the alteration of the system of paying out of the poor-rate for labour and support, as inseparable. The present system is most degrading to my



fellow-countrymen; for with the most industrious activity and bodily strength, and the best and purest intentions, they are compelled by the farmers to become paupers, or starve; and the indolence and sloth has a premium, while industry and virtue are below par. The degree of tyranny that is exercised over them, too, by the parish officer, is insulting and degrading. I will now suppose a case of a young man who has had a fair remuneration for his labour by a kind master, and has saved a sum of money, and is arrived at an age of thirty-five years—he is desirous to marry, and bring up a family in respectability, as we used to see heretofore done, but he is prevented by the destructive system of consolidating farms, for he has saved money enough to stock a neat little small one; but had he laid by the entire of his earnings, and doubled and quadrupled them, it would not have been half enough to stock a modern farm." What then, is his case? Why, if he marry, he knows eventually his family must come to the parish. It is the cultivation of land is the source of the happiness and wealth of the people, while fairly distributed—but monopolized, it is the source of misery and demoralization to the major part. Heretofore, whoever heard of national schools and Sunday schools? Each village had a useful, honest, active schoolmaster, and all the labourers' children attended his school at the parent's cost, and the parent felt independent, and the child, when he grew up, was not to be told he had been taught as a pauper, at parish expence; and on Sundays parents and children read together at home;—but now you thrust the father to the alehouse, and then make a merit of whipping the child to church and school. The magnitude of the evil of consolidating the farms, and paying the poor for labour out of the poor-rate, is such, that to dwell on it long quite overcomes us, and it requires the most serious attention of Ministers. If the landowners will not give way and open the farms, I hope the whole of the Corn Laws will be repealed. This would render them of so little value, that then they must do it, in some degree; and I hope to hear that some public meeting will be convened previous to the meeting of Parliament, to lay the case fairly before the country, and petition the Parliament to adopt such measures as shall afford some relief from the oppressive conduct of landowners. Our forefathers were so thoroughly of opinion of the evil of one man holding too much land, that an Act was passed in the reign of Henry VIII. to prevent it, under a penalty, to be levied weekly. And why should the same not be now?—Why not, I ask, now, for surely never was it more required? Giving a fair price for labour, and throwing open the large farms, would empty our jails of poachers, and our workhouses of paupers,—cheer the hearts of the people, and fill the hungry bellies of the poor half-famished husbandmen, and be a blessing to the whole nation.

If some useful, able, and active man of consequence would but take up the subject, and invite an assembly, he would certainly be supported, and I dare say a petition be presented to Parliament of the greatest bulk of names ever signed. The Editor of the "Morning Herald" should seize the opportunity, and take up this affair as warmly as he has the schemes.

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

SIR,

Bradford, Sept. 5, 1826.

It is much to be regretted that in writing or speaking, words of an ambiguous, equivocal, or indefinite meaning, should be so much used, either from ignorance, carelessness, or design, and I was pleased to find the necessity of some remarks I had intended to make so ably superseded by an article, in the 6th Number of the present volume of "The Republican," on "Superstition," by your correspondent A. Z.

The observations, I am about to make, are drawn from me by the remarks of Mr. Thomas Turton, in the 5th number of the present volume, on an argument used by me for the possibility of the existence of mankind from eternity. I imagine that Mr. Turton and I attach the same meaning to the word—namely, duration without limit, and in that case, notwithstanding the indefiniteness of the word, and the impossibility of having a precise idea of the meaning comprised in the term, yet the definition above given, will, I think, be sufficiently exact for our purpose.

Infinity is another abstract term of the same nature and both are negative. They are difficult of illustration by comparison, but they may, for want of a better, be thus compared; eternity, to a right line, of which neither end can be perceived, and, infinity (or boundless space), to a sphere, of which the circumference cannot be approached.

Mr. Turton thinks my reasoning illogical, because I argue that if mankind may exist through an eternity to come, they may have existed through a past eternity, and he endeavours to shew the absurdity of my inference, by applying the argument to prove the like possibility of the eternity of the steam-engine and railway. If we had had no experience of the invention and commencement of these pieces of machinery, but had always found them produced, each from its like, by generation or vegetation, the reasoning, even in this case, foolish as Mr. Turton may deem it, would have been perfectly logical, and especially so, in the absence of all proof or experience to the contrary, but having once seen any thing contrived by a designer, and arranged and fitted up by a workman, we infer the impossibility of its natural eternity as a species, by which I mean, its tendency to exist in succession beyond any assignable period. The steam-engine and rail-way are totally independent of any antecedent steam-engine and rail-way, but in man and other animals the case is different; like proceeds from and produces its like, and has done so from eternity, for any thing that Mr. Turton, or any one else knows, but if the beginning of mankind be a matter of fact (to



which I have not the least objection) I am ready to yield my assent to the proof of its probability: and as Mr. Turton has taken the affirmative side of the proposition, he must be aware that the *onus probandi*, or, burden of proving, rests with him. I and those who argue with me deny that mankind had any beginning, and we are waiting patiently for our opponents, proofs of the contrary.

I am not aware, "that geological research gives evidence from the strata of changes on our globe, before man was an actor, that animals" (with the exception of the doubtful instance, the American Mammoth) "have existed that at present do not exist, and that animals, now in existence, were not in existence when such changes took place," but I do not deny the possibility of such evidence though I must have it before I admit Mr. Turton's conclusion, "that our present existence is no evidence of the existence of man either from or to eternity." He should have said *the possibility of his existence*, for I argued nothing more. But I beg to differ with Mr. Turton in his conclusion very widely. I say, the present existence of man is an evidence of his existence from eternity; for I believe Mr. Turton will not deny that a man's existence is an evidence that he had a father; the father's existence is an evidence that he had a father, and every preceding man's existence is an evidence of the existence of a man still preceding him, and thus we may go back till the series becomes infinite, so that the evidence becomes so highly probable as almost to amount to direct proof, but which I know is impossible. I hope Mr. Turton will not attempt to prove the eternity of the steam-engine by the application of this argument.

The author of "The System of Nature," in his chapter "on the origin of man," is not quite so positive as Mr. Turton that man is a production of time, though he leans to that notion, but he disagrees with him on another point; he thinks it probable that the existence of man may be co-eval with the globe in its present position, while, if I understand Mr. Turton rightly, he supposes man to have been produced subsequent to the arrangement of the materials of the globe in its present general position. But Toulmin in the 11th sect. of the "Antiquity and Duration of the World," says, "And yet though matter ever thus is agitated, and nature changes forms, her forms do all exist. Though men are seen to die, or change existence, the human species flourish in eternal being!"

It is perfectly true that the climate and soil of one zone are not suitable to the productions of another zone. The tea plant of China, and the sugar cane of Jamaica do not appear calculated for growing and maturing in the vallies of Yorkshire or on the highlands of Scotland. Neither is the lion of Africa, or the tiger of Bengal to be found in the forests of Canada, or among the snows of Lapland. Yet we are told by naturalists, that the re-

mains of the crocodile and the bones of the elephant have been discovered in high northern latitudes, so that we may reasonably infer that the axis of the globe has been so much inclined to the ecliptic, that the part of it, which we inhabit, may have once (or oftener) been divided by the equator. Every part of the earth may have, and probably has, at one time or other, been the residence of every species of animal, from the northern bear to the Arabian camel. But supposing Mr. Turton's argument available, so far as regards other animals, it is of little weight as regards man, for as a species he is indigenous to every soil and climate.

The continual revolutions of the matter of the globe, the composition and decomposition of animal, vegetable, and mineral substances, seem to me perfectly compatible with the notion of the eternity of man, and succession itself depends on such incessant and endless mutations. The heaviest objection to the eternity of man appears to be founded on the small progress he has made in science and intelligence in an eternal lapse of ages, but he himself seems equally as subject to revolutions in those matters as the planet on which he lives does in others. Progression and retrogression, I am sorry to observe from the slender portion of history we have on record, mark his path; barbarism and civilization alternately afflict and cheer the different regions of the earth; witness India, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, Greece, and Rome.

When I first turned my attention to subjects such as those on which I am now writing, I now and then contemplated the possibility and the probability of one of those regularly irregular moving masses of matter, called comets, crossing the plane of the earth's orbit, as we were gliding by by, and treating us with another "Noah's flood" or perhaps driving us completely out of our present comfortable and convenient track, in either of which cases, I saw nothing but careless ruin for us all, with the exception of some miraculously favoured few. This is according to the calculation of, I think "wicked Will Whiston," who could digest the tale of a universal deluge, but could not stultify himself sufficiently to believe in the doctrine of the "glorious trinity." Since then I have met with Sir Richard Phillips's new theory, which seems much superior in reasonableness to the Newtonian. All general changes according to the former hypothesis are gradual and regular.

I might make some objections to the word "identities" as nothing is strictly identical for two instants together, but I do not wish to quibble about a word. I will, therefore, suppose that Mr. Turton, in applying the word to man, intends it to signify the same being which is personified under a particular form and possessed of certain qualities peculiar to itself; so that Thomas Turton is the name given to a particular identity, and which has been for a number of years considered as the same being; or that cer-



tain identity which is now signified by the same name. This I conceive is what is popularly understood by the term identity, and the sense in which Mr. Turton uses it, though philosophically speaking there is no such thing, for any two successive periods. I shall therefore use the word in its popular sense, and shall have an opportunity of shewing how loosely even Mr. Turton can reason. He says, "matter I take to be very different from its identities; the former apparently eternal, the latter created in time; every thing that ceases to give evidence of its once beginning, though we may not be capable of demonstrating its creation. There are identities which we observe to commence and to cease, but we never saw or heard of matter either commencing or ceasing to be under any circumstances, and this alone establishes a difference in their manner of existence." Further, he says, "viewing matter as the eternal cause, and every identity one of its effects, may we not imagine every animal, vegetable, and mineral in existence extinct, and the elements of matter remaining." Here is the misfortune of using a phrase which has scarcely any, if any, meaning. What are the elements of matter but parts of matter, and if parts, identities? If it were laid down that diamonds, or cabbages, or oysters were the elements of matter, then I certainly could imagine every animal, vegetable, and mineral extinct, except diamonds, cabbages or oysters; but I can form no idea of matter exclusive of its identities. Mr. Turton, I suppose, will not deny that the whole of matter consists of parts, and I do not know how it is possible to conceive parts of matter but as identities, grains of sand, stones, trees, animals, or whatever he likes. They will have extension, solidity and figure, and do not these qualities enter into the composition of every identity, and can any thing which comprises these be void of identity? Can matter exist independent of its parts or identities? If it can, I shall be glad to learn how, for I am unable to form an idea. If it require more than one element to make up the whole of matter, as Mr. Turton, by using the plural number, appears to think, must not every element be distinct from the other elements, and if distinct, do not shape and size belong to it, and if so, is it not a perfect identity? I think that Mr. Turton will not for the sake of getting rid of the identity of the elements of matter, (which he admits are eternal) deny them dimension and figure, and if he do not, what are become of his assertions that identities are not eternal? If then some identities were eternally co-existent with the whole of matter, or rather were the parts of which the whole of matter was composed, might not mankind as a species be one of the parts or identities? I think Mr. Turton will find it difficult to prove it impossible, for all things are equally possible before experience, and it is as possible for man to be one of the identities which has existed from eternity in succession, as any

other identity. He is incessantly changing and is never the same for two moments together.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

LEUCIPPUS.

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### STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

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THIS is a newspaper subject; a parliamentary subject; and if the journals of parliament were consulted as an authority, it would be found, that the *bad state of the country* has been coeval with the parliament.

There is something singular in the state of the country at this moment, or we should not have had a parliament called in November. Our rulers have more things at work on their hands than they call rule. Some causes will pursue their effects in spite of them. They are disconcerted, baffled and find no remedies but in the means which they hate. They are driven to measures which they fear, and to the adoption of the principles of those reformers whom they both fear and detest. They are altogether driven out of their element by their own measures. The measures which they have used to counteract other measures have failed in their purpose upon a series of years and the detested thing, the thing that is good for the ruled, a moral power that is not to be finally resisted, presses upon them in the ratio of force with their late opposition to it. That opposition was violent; the recoil is violent. The present ministers must retire or seal their own condemnation in adopting the measures which they have resisted. Ruling a people among whom there is discussion is found to be a different thing from ruling a nation of slaves among whom there is no public discussion. The former are only to be well and constantly ruled by the utmost freedom and the constant adoption of the best measures that can be discovered: the latter can only be ruled by constant dread of coercion and punishment.

The corn laws are about to supersede the clamour of catholic emancipation and the conclusion must be that there be no corn laws, no laws about religion. Let the farmer grow his corn as cheap, and sell it as dear, as he can; let religion without laws do its worst against free discussion. The best general law will be found in the smallest number of laws upon particular subjects. Law for the gathering of a certain revenue and laws for the protection of property, liberty and life, form all the law that is necessary for the well being of a community. This country is kept in a state of wretchedness and disorder through an excess of legislation.



Taxation and impediments to free trade and the advantages to be derived from industrious competition constitute the evils with which this country is afflicted. There are in reality more taxes now than during the war, in consequence of the decreased means of meeting them. The revenue collected now as then is the whole that can be collected without a more rapid exhaustion of the sources of the revenue. The present state of taxation is an exhaustion of its source, and hence the mass of misery which afflicts the country. Some must fall and the weakest fall first. Some have means enough to ward off the effect of taxation, to throw the burden on others; and this brings the evil with accumulated weight on those who have not the means to stand against it.

Taxation requires increased labour to meet it; but the taxation of this country dries up the supply of the commodities on which profitable labour can be effected. The revenue demands cash; and if cash cannot be easily procured by the capitalist, large or small, he must make a great sacrifice of stock in trade to procure the amount of cash required. Thus difficulty engenders difficulty and the first that is seriously felt can seldom be so warded off as to prevent the accumulation of injuries. The country is clearly overtaxed and taxed to such an extent as to diminish the consumption of produce, which in itself constitutes an accumulation of difficulties and ruin, as to capital accumulated, to a large portion of the people.

In the Morning Chronicle of this day (Friday September 8) there is a statement, that since the parson's tithes have been declared subject to the payment of poor-rates, in some places they have been swallowed up and the clergyman left comparatively a pauper. This is one way of annihilating the established church; but not the best way. It would be better to make its property immediately available to the reduction of taxation and the difficulties of the country, than to wait until pauperism swallows it up in the shape of poor rates, and all parties become so engulfed in the evil as to be unable to assist each other. A sort of beginning *de novo* must take place in this country; there is no apparent means of patching the present system for further wear. All parties begin to see this, and this is the real cause of the extinction of party spirit. Were there an easy income sure, that was worth battling in party to acquire it; party spirit would still rage. It is the natural principle of mankind that it should be so. Those who think and act otherwise are but educated exceptions to the general rule.

There is a strong disposition in the country to petition against the whole tithe system and to call for its reduction. The very attempt would do good; for it would be one of the steps which would shake the fabric of the established church. There is an excellent article in the last Westminster Review on the subject

of church establishments, shewing their mischievousness and the vast importance of removing them. Wherever mystery is made profitable, it will produce a certain amount of evil in a country, an amount in ratio with its profits; and improvements in the condition of society can only be made in the simplifying and cheapening of its institutions. The ensuing winter will be made comparatively warm by the struggle between the conflicting interests of church, land, and manufactures. The state of the revenue cannot remain what it now is; if not legislatively reduced, it will reduce itself.

The population of the manufacturing districts is in a state of extreme wretchedness. They are pictures such as we have read of among the Chinese and Hindoos, reduced to something below the savage state or state of nature; for they, of this country, cannot get the food of cattle without the accusation of stealing it. The grass of the field is not theirs. Every bird has the right of commonage; but the *human face divine* is shrivelled from want and wretchedness.

The state of society in this country will no longer maintain the idle pomp of kings, priests, and aristocracy. The affairs of the nation must be conducted in a tradesman-like manner and competition be allowed its full sway. We see the superior difference, in the United States of America, of plain political government. Our pomp is a display of our weakness and our more plain and more wise competitors in commerce and navy will shine to our confusion by the simplicity and cheapness of their institutions.

Great changes are about to take place in this country. We have now no life and fortune men to preserve things as they are. These fellows have brought themselves into a merited state, and are become the greatest murmurers. They are all now running to me for the works of Thomas Paine, for *Every Man's Book*, and *Every Woman's Book*. These are the books for their improvement: and they are becoming my pupils.

About the state of the country, we shall hear much before the year be out, so that too much here will only make it the more painful. The evil, the master evil, is taxation, and there is no remedy but in a reduction of taxation, the remedy being in the ratio of the reduction. For this purpose, the church must yield its property; the sinecurist his sinecure, the pensioner his unmerited pension, and the placeman all but a fair remuneration for useful and necessary labour.

R. C.



## TO MR. ALLEN DAVENPORT.

SIR,

In your comment on my view of the Poor Laws, you suppose me ignorant of a certain knowledge concerning *land and the progress of a new community*, which I could obtain by reference to your article on Agrarian Equality, published in "The Republican." Allow me to state that in this respect you are mistaken. I had, previous to writing on the Poor Laws, repeatedly read the pages you refer me to; and my opinion then was, and still is, that your conclusions are not warranted.

Your principal conclusion is, that the land may be so divided or managed as to exclude the possibility of poverty among mankind. This I conceive to be an error, and shall endeavour to make it so appear.

In my remarks on the poor laws, I supposed the rise of a community in an island, as the clearest way of illustrating the operation of population on land. I supposed the first settlers to equally divide the land, and I proved that in such a case poverty *must* eventually overtake the inhabitants, if they continued to produce children without restriction. You tacitly acknowledge that, according to my view of the establishment of the community, such would be the effect. But then you seem to think that a different conduct in regard to the land would prevent the evil I consider as necessary.

You say that instead of dividing the land, the rents or property should be divided. You conclude, "Let this system be once linked to the wings of ambition, and to the car of cupidity, and the one may flap her wings, and the other may flog her steeds, but neither would be able to advance a single step beyond the interest of the whole community." That is, in plain language, that if all the land belonging to a community be made a jointstock farm, all would fare well and all would fare alike.

Let my supposed community proceed on your plan; what are the effects? You will not dispute that there is a power in mankind to increase their numbers: few persons at the present day are so ignorant as to deny this very evident proposition. Suppose the joint stock farm of the new community to be ten acres for each individual. On a moderate calculation, at the end of twenty-five years, there would be two persons for every ten acres: at the end of fifty years, four persons; at the end of one hundred years, sixteen persons; at the end of five hundred years, upwards of one million. How could the produce of ten acres of land support such a number? It is absurd to think of such a thing. Yet such is but the natural increase of mankind; and such increase always has been, and always will be made, when not obstructed

by poverty, disease, and premature death. Communities have seldom increased at this rate, because they have seldom been long supplied with an abundance of food, have seldom been long without suffering poverty, and its concomitant evils.

The only difference in the effect between a community possessing land individually, and one holding the whole as a joint stock farm, is this: the latter would be reduced to poverty in the mass; the former would suffer it but partially: it would fall earlier in the last case, but would not be felt generally; the best breeding families would be the first sufferers.

No plan of dividing or managing the land can continue a community free from poverty, except it be joined to a plan for restricting the increase of population; and if population were properly restricted, the community would be prosperous and happy, let the land be managed however it may. Without Corn Laws, or any kind of restriction on the trade, the value of land would be nearly the same in all countries. Uncultivated land may be said to be worth nothing, and the cultivated no more than it would cost to bring the uncultivated into the same state. For instance, the land in this country would not be worth more than land of the same quality in Poland or America, except, allowing the English to be importers of grain, a small sum to balance the cost of bringing agricultural produce from other countries.

You, Sir, think that the happiness of a community principally depends on the division of the land; but I conceive it a point of very minor importance. It is evident to me that except means are taken to restrict population, poverty will occasionally attack every community, no matter what its internal management; and that with a proper restriction any community may be prosperous and happy, in spite of the worst systems of government that are now existing. Nay, more, I am convinced that restricting the population would eventually destroy all bad Governments: it would elevate the multitude, it would give them time and opportunities to improve their knowledge; and no corrupt Government could exist in a nation where the majority were intelligent and aware of the purposes for which government is established.

I object to the Poor Laws, because I see that they do not answer, and cannot answer, the purpose for which they were intended; but on the contrary, that they aggravate the evil they were intended to remove.

"I can listen," you say, "with all the calmness of a philosopher to any scheme that is not injurious to health, to prevent the production of children; but when I hear of plans proposed to destroy them when they are produced, my philosophy forsakes me." The first member of the sentence pleases me, as it shows that you are above the stupid prejudices which debase so large a majority of our species; but the last, coupled with the paragraph following it, seems to indicate that in my remarks on the Poor



Laws I had advocated a plan for the destruction of a portion of mankind. I have advocated no such plan. Men now suffer, and have occasionally always suffered, the evils of poverty; they now die, and in all modern ages of the world have died, from starvation. I merely proposed a gradual abolition of the Poor Laws, which promised to prevent poverty; but do not now, never did, nor ever can, prevent it.

I give you credit for good intentions, and I doubt not but you will allow me the same, and let those who are capable judge between us. If the Poor Laws can be proved to be productive of more good than evil, let them remain; if not, they ought to be, and eventually must be, abolished. The question about equal rights to land is but of little importance; the Poor Laws, as a system affecting population, deserve every attention.

Respectfully, &c.

R. H.

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### ON RELIGION.

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**POSITIVELY** to assert that religion makes us better or worse men would perhaps be saying more than we could fairly demonstrate; but that it is the root of many evils is clear. That it stupifies the senses, and is a slavish yoke on the neck of society, history in general proves.

"It is proper to remark," says a sage traveller, "that the Indians have an admirable method of turning godliness into great gain." How strange that he should be obliged to travel so far as India for the observation. Do the European priests make a great gain of religion? In England, it is very far from being a cheap article. It would not be a bad method of proving its value, to examine under what superstition or religion the greatest or least quantity of crimes is committed, where capital offence and punishment are most frequent, how punishments are inflicted, and who are spared, and why? On examination, it would be found, that crime and punishment among the lower orders, as the poor are insultingly denominated, are equally distributed throughout the whole world. There are, in spite of the religions and laws of all the nations which I have visited, crimes which dishonour and punishments which degrade mankind. The first of these, the great moral teachers, who are in general sordid, selfish priests, say, are inherent in our nature, and endeavour to prove by assertion, that mankind can neither be virtuous nor enjoy happiness; and that the second is only the result of the first, that vice is every where found and every where punished. Hence the bow-string in Turkey, the gallows in England, and the rack on the

Continent. The best rattan floggers in the world are the Chinese, who are Deists, Atheists, Mahometans, and idolaters of all sorts. The Russians, who are at best but mongrel Christians, are excellent at the knout. The English, who have the only true religion in the world, beat them all at the cat-o'-nine-tails, and may I add the profitable punishment of the tread-mill. This is a true statement of the case, as may be found or learned at the universities of Pekin, Petersburg, and Spithead, or at the British House of Commons. This striking outline speaks volumes for orthodoxy, and the purest and only true religion in the world; but I am going to say something more about the whole of them. It is not now as in days long past, when there was no press and but few pens employed, and those few employed by the most designing and arrogant of men for the worst of purposes, at one stroke to enslave the mind and body of mankind, to fit them for the yoke and bend it on their necks for ever. Those who consult history will have occasion to congratulate the human race on their improvement and approach towards happiness, and the nearer they come to our time, the more visible will be the change for the better, the greater their cause of approbation, and the stronger their hope in the future felicity of the human race. Will any person presume to say that religion has had any hand in raising the savage from imbecile barbarism and grovelling misery to the strength of civilization and manly independence? There are; for stern bigots, ignorant fanatics, and hypocritical priests, can impudently lie with impunity; and some of them glory in their falsehood as an honour to their God. The real truth is, that religion has been a dead weight round the neck of improvement. It has been a dangerous and heavy clog on science, and little better in the days of Lawrence than in the era of Galileo. We may safely say, without fear of being falsified, that it is morally impossible for man to attain any considerable degree of happiness, or real civil liberty, or any philosophical researches to any beneficial extent, or to come near hard truth or virtue, until the baleful influence of religion is destroyed, and the whole fraudulent farce of idolatry and superstition exterminated from the earth. This will take place sooner than most are aware of—for religion is destroying itself,

The design of all religions is to instil into the mind an insurmountable dread and terror of an ideal incomprehensibility denominated God, and when this is effected, it is cancelled from the Deity, in favour of his immediate servant the priest, who substitutes self in the place of the Divinity, and disposes of the persons and property of the slave whom his arts have corrupted. The will of the priest is called the word of God; and such is the ecclesiastical tyranny, that, to dare to investigate this even in thought is made an unpardonable crime, hardly to be atoned for by any mode of penance or sincerity of repentance. This mental



tyranny, which always produces personal and general slavery, is of very high antiquity, so much so, as to elude all research and baffle all enquiry. And such was the skill and art with which this imposing principle was fabricated and infixed in the human mind, that it has reigned predominant for a period of four thousand years at least, without any material change or any steadfast endeavour to prove its truth, demonstrate its authority, testify its origin, or produce its authors. All classes and denominations of religious persons have their Bibles and word of God. Their divine codes spring immediately from the sacred fountain of divinity, and to disbelieve what is written in their respective holy books, or question their veracity, is made by the books themselves a crime of such enormity, that the very Deity who composed them has put it out of his own power to forgive the transgression.

The denunciations in the Scriptures against adding, diminishing, or disbelieving, are incontestible signs of their weakness and human fabrication. The composers of the various religious codes had sense and foresight enough to see that their doctrines were open to suspicion, and would not bear a critical examination, and their knowledge of the curiosity of man and the frailty of human nature determined them to guard against the inquisitive powers of reason and the boldness of truth. But the defence only exhibits their error of judgment, as it clearly proves the authors, and at once exposes their imbecility and duplicity. Falsehood or hypocrisy never can promote human happiness; though it is possible that even wise men may think so, and, deceive themselves, as they afterwards mislead and deceive others. But duplicity will not be better informed, fanatics will not be instructed; and those who are paid for supporting fraud, will never advocate the truth, for nothing. But did their lies, their impudence, and their treachery to man promote the general welfare; did we see harmony, friendship, love, and good fellowship, resulting from the united powers of chicane, fable, lies, and hypocrisy, (which is impossible) I would support the system as far as it tended to our happiness. But as the reverse is the case, where malignant principles are called in to assist falsehood against truth, dogma against reason, and power against justice, without hesitation, I decide for the truth. In this case, I am perfectly disinterested, I have no prospects on earth, I have no fears of a future Hell, I have no hopes of an hereafter blissful Heaven, I have no love, no dread of an omnipotent God, nor any idea of a soul-tormenting Devil. These being premised, what can influence me

“ To expose my curship  
'Gainst arms, authority, and worship?”

Why that invincible spirit of right that less or more shews itself every where in existence, where reason is concerned, that teaches us not to leave the world worse than we found it, at the hazard

of pain, punishment, or death, to espouse truth and oppose oppression, and to glory in being the victim of imposition, sooner than to suffer injustice and hypocrisy to trample on innocence, ignorance, virtue, and freedom?

TEUCER.

### DORCHESTER GAOL.

THERE has been a sort of exposure of the conduct of the Magistrates who manage this place, in the case of the boys who were committed to the tread-mill for robbing the garden of the Rev. Mr. Chamberlaine, of Wyke Regis. In defence of the Magistrates, the Dorset County Chronicle, a paper that has not exhibited a spark of independence under the management of the present Editor, says:—"In Dorchester Gaol, a schoolmaster, who is paid by the county, teaches juvenile delinquents to read during the hours they are not employed on the tread-mill, and we understand he pays particular care to the improvement of the children. Of the excellent management and discipline of the Prison in other respects it is unnecessary here to speak."

This statement is a gross and wilful falsehood, with reference to the Gaol from November, 1819, to November, 1825, the six years during which I was there confined. It was my daily complaint to the Authorities of the Gaol that there was no schoolmaster there. My proposition was uniformly scouted, and it was more than once admitted, that the major part of the Magistrates were no advocates for the education of the labouring part of the people. The only kind of schoolmasters that I ever saw there were prisoners. Some prisoner that could read was selected to teach the boys to read, and it has often occurred that there have been boys and no prisoner to teach them to read. The disposition of the Magistrates and Gaoler is coercion and terror, and not instruction. During the chaplainship of the excellent Rev. George Wood, some pains were taken with the boys; but Mr. Wood's duty and habits led him to think more of the nonsense of creeds and religious catechisms than of useful knowledge, than of writing and arithmetic. What the conduct of the Reverend Mr. Clementson is to the boys I had scarcely an opportunity of ascertaining through my short stay after his appointment; but I do not doubt of his attention to them; and if any thing now exists under the description of the Editor of the Dorset County Chronicle, I may flatter myself that I have worked something like good disposition into the Magistrates and Gaoler. A more base and contemptible set than I found them never managed a Gaol in the country. The Gaoler, among the inhabitants of Dorchester is proverbially a ruffian. Where he puts on civility, it is a constrained cant that is more offensive to the keen observer than his ruffianism.

RICHARD CARLILE.



## MR. JEFFERSON.

WE understand that Mr. Jefferson has left behind him a memoir of a part of his own life and times; he commenced its composition in the 77th year of his age, in 1820, and finished it in 1821. It goes back to the time of his grandfather, traces the progress of his own education, touches upon the causes and events of the American revolution, gives a particular account of the declaration of independence, presents many interesting sketches of the condition and celebrated characters of France while he was minister in that country, and terminates with his acceptance of the office of Secretary of State. He has also left behind him, for publication, three volumes of *Anas*, comprising various conversations and transactions in which he was concerned while he was Secretary of State. Besides these, he has prepared for the press twelve or thirteen volumes of correspondence, labelled with the years in which they were written. In these MS. volumes, not bound, but stitched, he has carefully laid away copies of all his interesting letters, as taken by the polygraph. It is unnecessary to state that these letters are full of interest; they are addressed to various persons, and on various subjects, and when published, will more fully display the felicity of style and grandeur of principles for which their author was so eminently distinguished. Some of these letters were prior to the Revolution, and the last of the series is his celebrated reply to Mr. Weightman, written ten days before his death. This is laid the very last in the volume for 1826. Some of these letters are very long; they discuss a variety of the most interesting topics; among the rest, we have heard, an elaborate letter of his to Colonel Monroe, immediately after the capture of Washington, spoken of in the highest terms. He has also left many other manuscripts, amongst his papers; with these some compositions labelled "*Juvenilities*." All his papers are put up with a neatness and regularity which uniformly distinguished Mr. Jefferson. It is remarkable that he had put away, as among his select papers, his own will, a copy of the first draught and alterations of the Declaration of Independence, and some affectionate memorials of family feeling. These three were arranged together in the same compartment. As soon as the proper arrangements can be made, this memoir, these *Anas*, and most of this correspondence will be laid before his country. Few men's papers can be so rich in valuable materials as those of Mr. Jefferson. His style and his sentiments contribute to lend an inestimable attraction to every subject which he handled. *Teticit nihil quod non ornavit*. There has been no opportunity yet of recording Mr. Jefferson's will. It was written in March last: condensed, expressive, simple, and elegant. He has left all his books to the University, of which it has not already copies. He has left to his illustrious friend, James Madison, his beautiful cane of animal horn, as a memorial of his long and

uninterrupted friendship for one with whom he has been combined in his exertions for the good of mankind. He has left a few slaves free, making provision for their future support, and praying of the Legislature, as a last favour, (in addition to so many which he has received at their hands), that these emancipated slaves might be permitted to remain within the Commonwealth.—*Richmond Inquirer.*

#### BARTHOLOMEW FAIR.

THIS scene of weakness and depravity has been again suffered to disgrace the metropolis and to concentrate its vices to a focus; from which irreparable misery to individuals arises. Old age, women and children, and even pregnant women flock to this foul spectacle to seek food for the mirth that gladdens not, that yields no lasting pleasure, and that destroys that sense of dignified modesty which should be felt by all mankind. Many even of our popular and liberty advocating writers have reprobated the attempt to put down fairs, as an encroachment upon popular privileges and amusements. What privilege and amusement can that be that debases or preserves the debasement of mankind? What philosopher can behold the scenes of the fair in Smithfield and call it a privilege or rational amusement? And what are other fairs but the minor scenes of Smithfield?

One of the evils of fairs and spectacles is, that individuals are taught buffoonery as the best attraction to weak and ignorant minds. A showman may be supposed to have a full insight into the weak parts of man, and to thrive upon the indulgence of that weakness. The more nonsense and drollery he can exhibit, the greater are his profits. Even the seller of gingerbread, with his gilt figures, plays to the same tune upon the mind of children, whether their growth be large or small. The punch of the puppet show, the clown of the pantomime, and the gingerbread figure of the confectioner are each an instrument wherewith to operate upon the weakness of the human animal.

The alehouse affords enchantment for other appetites, and, I must confess, the more depraved appetites. See a house full of human animals with pots of intoxicating liquor before them, and pipes in their mouths; and what are they? Why do they drink? Why do they burn tobacco and make their mouths the chimneys for its passage to the atmosphere? Are the sensations pleasing which the irritation or excitement produces? See what wretches they are, who follow this to excess: See them waste their time and their means; see their haggard countenances, filthy persons, and ragged garments. See their consequent, their deserved slavery. See the total absence of respect which the more moral part of the community is obliged to observe toward them. A labouring man cannot put his foot in the alehouse, as a habit, near his home, without degrading himself, and without feeling a degradation in the ratio of his expenditure. Some men are weak enough to think that it is manly to be able to sit and drink and smoke by the hour or day; but I trust that real manliness is to be found in the abstinence from such acts.

The youth wastes that time in the alehouse which should be devoted to the preservation of his health and the cultivation of his mind, and the times and places called fairs are to him moments of excitement, at which he feels a sort of necessary custom imposed upon him, that he is to make himself peculiarly offensive, and as opposite as possible to whatever is essential to his well being. Christianity may suffer such scenes by its encouragement; but philosophical atheism will soon reform it when it has the power.